1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

323 **Pottery.**—The early *Tehuelche* used very simple and crude pottery (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:50), and pottery occurs archeologically far down the Atlantic coast and inland in *Tehuelche* territory (present volume, p. 20; Lothrop, 1932 b, pp. 194–196); but again there is no information on process of manufacture. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported pottery absent from the *Tehuelche* of his day.

281 **Miscellaneous.**—The *Tehuelche* did excellent lasso plaiting and saddlery work, and, after the early 19th century, very creditable silversmithing (Muñiz, 1917, p. 214; Bourne, 1853, p. 97, cf. 96).

325

281 **Skin dressing.**—In dressing skins, the women first pegged them down to sun-dry them, then scraped them with flint, agate, obsidian, or glass scrapers. The scrapers (fig. 18, *g*) are hafted by lashing the blade to a bent split sapling (cf. illustr., Outes and Bruch, 1910, p. 121) or by setting it transversely in a block of wood. The skins were next smeared with grease and liver, were kneaded into a pulp, and were softened by hand until quite pliable. A soft-grained stone was also used for scouring. In sewing, an eyeless needle or awl, later made of an iron nail, and thread of guanaco or rhea sinew were used. (On *Tehuelche* skin dressing, cf.: Lothrop, 1929; Bourne, 1853, pp. 98–99; Guinnard, 1864, pp. 68–69; Roncagli, 1884, p. 778; Hatcher, 1903, p. 269. Our most detailed account is Kermes, 1893, pp. 209–210, for "*Pampa*" Indians apparently of Río Negro, probably including *Tehuelche;* he records dehairing with ashes.)

[413]

[413]

[283]

415 412 Skin bags were made for holding water (Coan, 1880, p. 53; Gardiner and Hunt, 1852, p. 89; Bourne, 1853, p. 82), paints, etc. Knives were earlier made of stone, and such were still used in the middle 18th century (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 75). A small hand-adz was used in woodworking (fig. 18, *f;* cf. Musters, 1871, pp. 168, 170).

411 **Weapons.**—The chief hunting and fighting weapon of the early *Tehuelche* was the bow and arrow, which finally went out of use in the first half of the 19th century (Morrell, 1832, p. 84; Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:149). The bows are described both as long and as short, with guanaco sinew string; arrows, with cane shafts, heads of stone or bone, and three feathers (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 40), carried originally in the hair, fillet headdress, or belt instead of a quiver. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:116–117) reported bows 3 feet (90 cm.) long, some use of skin quivers, and slings. The bolas, of the one-, two-, and three-balled types (fig. 18, *i, j, k*), began to replace the bow and arrow at the time of the adoption of the horse. The lasso, too, was of later introduction.

The lance, bola perdida, European weapons, and armor are discussed below, pp. 153–154.

372 **Fire making.**—Ordinarily fire was made by the drill method. Fire making by percussion is recorded by two observers, Coan (1880, p. 50) with two pebbles and Spegazzini (1884, p. 232) with two flints—the former case possibly due to immigrant *Ona* influence (cf. supra).

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

bravery ample proof will afterwards be given; but, like all drunkards, he was uncertain and not to be depended on. This veritable old Blue Beard informed me that he had been married six times; certainly, if all his wives were of the appearance and disposition of his last venture, it is not to be wondered at if he disposed of the former ones; for an uglier, dirtier, more contumacious old hag had never burdened the earth with her weight, owing probably to which latter quality, or quantity, she never, if she could possibly help it, quitted her room. Early in June, an Indian, known in Santa Cruz as El Sourdo, or the left-handed man, came across the river and pitched his toldo on the island. He was the husband of two wives, who lived together in perfect felicity and took care of one another's children. This Indian was, as most of them are, very ingenious in working wood and silver, and was a good addition to our hunting parties; he also quickly learned to play at brag. Casimiro would never descend from his lofty pinnacle of self-importance so far as to enter the kitchen when the general revels were held, but occasionally joined Mr. Clarke and myself at supper and sat telling stories for an hour or two.

The sketch of our life at Pabon would be very incomplete without asking the reader to accompany us on a hunting excursion; so I will describe one which took place after El Sourdo had arrived on the island. Game had become very scarce in our immediate vicinity, and our only farinaceous food was black beans varied by maize, which was too troublesome in the preparation to be much used. The meat went wonderfully quickly, so we determined to extend the sphere of the hunting a little more afield. Accordingly, one fine frosty morning at daylight, the horses were brought up, caught, and saddled, mantles and spurs donned, and eight of us, including the two Indians, Casimiro and El Sourdo, set off to make a circle, *i.e.*, enclose and drive an area of land on the southern shore of the river, finishing at the Missionaries'

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Indians have a good deal of regard for personal cleanliness, and besides the morning ablutions enjoy bathing when encamped near a river, swimming and diving for hours together. They also are scrupulously careful as to the cleanliness of their toldos and utensils, and will, if they can obtain soap, wash up everything they may be possessed of. Notwithstanding these precautions, they are very much afflicted by vermin, which effect a firm lodgment in the wool of their mantles. This may be attributed to their mode of life, and their food, as well as to the materials of their clothing; and any traveller who wishes to sojourn with the Indians must make up his mind to subject himself to these inflictions, to which, however (*experto crede*), he will soon become inured. Their method of hunting and of cooking the meat obtained by the chase has been fully described in a previous chapter. Among the arms and implements figured in the illustration will be found (figs. 9 and 10) the weapons chiefly employed in the pursuit of game, namely, the bolas fitted with two balls called 'chumè,' for capturing the ostrich, and those with three called 'yachiko,' for guanaco hunting, which are similar to those used by the Gauchos in the Argentine Provinces. The balls are generally of stone, but sometimes white metal or copper balls are employed, procured in the settlements, which require no covering, and are more and more coming into fashion of late years; iron balls also, or iron ore, obtained and hammered into the requisite shape by the Tehuelches themselves, are common; these are for the round striking ball or balls: but the oval-shaped hand-ball, which is grasped in the hand, and is necessarily lighter by at least one-third than the other, is generally made of the soft vesicular lava which abounds in so many districts. The tough light thong for swinging balls round the head is generally made, as previously described, of ostrich or guanaco sinews plaited in four plaits, the length of which should be between seven and eight feet. It is always best to ball a quarry when galloping in an exact

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

of old pouches stuffed with guanaco wool, and sewn up with ostrich or guanaco sinews, a few lechos or woven blankets obtained from the Araucanos, and the remaining saddle gear. The cooking utensils comprise only an occasional iron pot, and an asador or spit; wooden platters are occasionally met with. The weapons used in the chase are the bolas, fitted with either two or three balls, the first being used against ostrich, and the latter to capture guanaco; and a lazo for capturing wild horses or cattle.

The arms of the Tehuelches consist of gun, or revolver, a long heavy lance, used only by dismounted Indians, and the bola perdeda, or single ball, a most effective weapon in their hands. Pigafetta mentions these Indians as using bows and arrows; this I look upon as an error: he either met with a party of Fuegians, or else with a tribe of Pampas living on the sea-coast, further north, whom I shall shortly have occasion to notice. My reason for stating that he was wrong is simply that no flint arrowheads are met with until the Rio Negro is reached, where they abound. Also there is but little wood nearer than the Cordillera suitable for bows, and it is reasonable to suppose that previous to the introduction of horses, these Indians' journeys were confined to a smaller area. Indeed, one Indian informed me that some caves, existing in a volcanic range south of the Santa Cruz river, were formerly inhabited by Tehuelches. When not engaged in hunting or training their horses, men occupy themselves in making wooden saddles, bolas, lazos, spurs, and other gear, or in working silver ornaments and pipes made out of stone or hard wood, and fitted usually with a silver tube; they also manufacture iron, procured by trade or from shipwrecks, into rings, knives, etc.

Their anvils and hammers for working the silver are generally of stone. They also shape the materials for bolas with hard stones; the scrapers with which the women clean the skins are of flint or obsidian, of which material, probably, prior to the advent of the Spaniards, their knives were constructed. They procure fire by the use of flint and steel, employing as tinder a description of dried fungus, obtained in the wooded districts at the base of the Cordillera. The women's occupations, besides discharging all the household duties and fetching wood and water, consist in dressing the skins and manufacturing the mantles of the young guanaco, fox, skunk, and ostrich skins, using, instead of needles and thread, sharp metal bodkins and sinews obtained from the back of the adult guanaco. The puma, fox, and ostrich mantles, are chiefly manufactured for barter in the settlements. Some of the women also weave garters and fillets for the head, and occasionally work in silver. The children amuse themselves, as usual, by imitating their elders. The boys practise with miniature bolas and lazos, and mount any

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

000 in trees," or "books in the running brooks;" the land possesses neither in numbers sufficient to be conversable. "Sermons in stones," even, must have been of very pebbly dimensions, and of no great weight. Had this difficulty been removed, I confess I had no great desire to surmount it. I was the object of suspicion and hostility. My [609] life was in constant danger. To diminish, as far as possible, the causes of dislike, to mitigate their ferocious hate, to elude occasions of mischief, to delay what I feared could not be very long prevented, was my continual study. If the reader is not satisfied with this account of my conduct, I am sorry for it, but cannot afford any words of contrition. It is vastly easier, I may hint to the objector, to prescribe another's duties than to judge of one's own, especially where the two parties are in circumstances so widely differing. The Patagonians need the gospel—and the law—as much as any people I could name from personal observation. There was no trace of instruction imparted at a previous period, and the reception Christianity would meet with among them is yet to be discovered.

276 Their pipes are made of a hard red stone, the bowl dug
324 out with whatever iron or steel implement is at command
● 325 to the dimensions of an ordinary clay pipe, the stem about an inch square, and three inches long, with a small perforation. A copper or brass tube, about two inches long, is fitted to the stem, and serves as a mouth-piece. This is made by bending or hammering a metallic plate about a small round stick, and soldering or cementing it with a glutinous substance thickened with earth.

325 The copper, brass and iron, seen among them, was probably procured from unfortunate vessels wrecked on their

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

coast. I was informed by Captain Morton, of whom the persevering reader will know more hereafter, that he had touched at Sea Bear Bay for a harbor, and saw there great quantities of iron pumps, ships' hanging knees, and other gear, from wrecks of vessels of all sizes. As he was bound for the land of gold, he thought it scarcely worth his while to collect the baser metals. Had he been homeward bound, he might have obtained a valuable cargo.

As ornaments, bits of brass and copper, of silver and German silver, have a high value among the Indians, and when the metals are plenty such adornment is very common. The children's shoes have small oval pieces sewed on in front, and they appear on other parts of their dress. When scarce, they are more seldom seen. Blacksmithing in Patagonia is something of the rudest. Two hard flat stones do duty, the one as anvil, and the other as hammer. Of the effect of heat in making the metals malleable, and of the art of tempering, the people have no knowledge. To make a knife, they take a piece of iron hoop, or iron in any practicable shape, and hammer away upon it at a provokingly slow rate. Their blows are not heavy enough to do much execution; but they keep up a constant tap, tap, tap, hour by hour, till the iron is flattened to the required shape and dimensions. It is then rubbed on a smooth stone till it is worn down to an edge, and finally inserted into a wooden handle. Sometimes melted lead is poured into the handle, but lead appeared to be a scarce commodity. All mechanic arts, if they deserve the name, are in an equally rude and primitive stage. The simplicity of these people's ideas is indeed extraordinary. In invention or constructiveness they are babes. A Yankee boy, six

It is improbable that these parts
contain metals, because if there were metal here the Indians would have 135
found it and put it to use; and they would naturally have come upon it
at one time or another as they are never in one place very long, changing
from one site to another in order to subsist on the game which, according
to season, moves inland or comes down to the beaches.

The weapons which they use are the bolas and the lasso, and also 441
knives and sabers which they acquire from the Pampas Indians of Buenos [437]
Aires or [79] else make themselves from any piece of iron given them 325
and which they regard highly for this reason. They also sometimes find
iron on the beaches, the remains of wrecked ships. It requires a great
deal of effort on their part to make one of these weapons because, even
though they heat the iron by fire, as they have no tools they can only
avail themselves of stones to beat it into shape then they must grind it
by hand and trim it on the rocks and give it a sharp edge and a point.

In their battles they fight on foot, leaving the women in charge 726
of the horses. They put on garments similar to men's shirts, with tight [714]
sleeves, made out of ten or twelve well-worked deer hides which no
knife or saber can penetrate. They put a sort of hat or helmet upon their
heads made of horse or bullock hide, shielded with which they attempt
to slash the enemies' legs and cut through their boots, they being more
vulnerable there. They are very resolute and persevering in battle and
do not abandon the field once upon it until they are either overpowered
or killed. They also use the bolas, and every person who is overcome is
usually killed because they become so zealous and cruel in battle that
they will not give up. This is why this region is not more thickly popu- [164
lated, for the women are very fecund and few diseases bother them. 842]

From Santa Elena to the Rio Negro the Indians say that the land 133
is parched and waterless and only in the rainy season can a few small
lakes be found. When these are dry they are obliged, when they wish 487
to go to the Rio Negro, to travel inland towards the mountains where
there are springs. As they have to travel uphill far to the west to do this
the distance is three times greater when they wish to come down to the
Spanish settlement, compared to the coastal road, if this latter had water.

The tents are pitched by sticking two poles about two or three 342
yards long into the ground, about four and a half feet from each other;
beside each pole and at an equal distance from it, they thrust two shorter
poles into the ground. To the west of these six they place six shorter ones
at an equal distance, and to the west of these at the same distance, six
others a little more than three feet long. Upon these eighteen poles they
place the hide with the hair outward, and secure it to the upper end of all
of the poles. From each pole they hang, on the inside, as it were curtains
of hide which form the necessary divisions. These curtains are tied to the